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CHARITY ORGANIZATION AND LABOR BUREAUS.

MODERN philanthropists in their efforts to ameliorate poverty are tolerably sure of two or three important conditions in the solution of the problem. They are unanimous in the belief that the chief want of the poor man is labor of some kind instead of any form of gratuitous relief. They are perhaps as nearly agreed that self-reliance and prudence are quite as important factors in the redemption of the poor as the receipt of work. But there is at present no adequate scheme to supply either of these necessities. Thousands of the poor, especially in such emergencies as the last winter supplied, beseech relief and there is neither work forthcoming to meet their cases, nor any means to discourage the abandonment of self-reliance which a successful appeal to relief by alms is sure to create. Charity agencies are forced to deal with their supplicants as with starving men and women. They can confessedly employ nothing but temporary expedients to tide over a crisis, waiting to repeat the process with every recurrence of economic misfortune, and without adequate machinery to properly meet the responsibilities created both by extraordinary emergencies and by the chronic condition of things.

The proposal to be made here is designed to suggest a way

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out of these and some other difficulties. It is not a scheme that is wholly new or novel in its conception; for labor bureaus have been tried before and have been found wanting. Witness the Parisian instance and the one formerly in connection with the Charities and Correction of New York City. But criticism from this point of view may as well be disarmed once for all by the remark that the plan to be discussed at present is no reproduction of past efforts of that kind, but is merely an extension upon a larger scale of a method already in operation under the auspices of many charity societies which seems to be quite successful.

There is one special object in proposing a labor bureau after the type to be explained that deserves particular mention. The design is to indicate a practical method of removing at least some of those conditions which give rise to so much socialistic speculation and to political nostrums for curing the poor man's ills. It is true that there is an enormous amount of suffering that appeals powerfully to the sympathies of mankind, and under the impulse of very loose opinions about its causes the belief is too general that economic rather than moral conditions are responsible for it. If any method, therefore, can be suggested which will either relieve the situation or prove a larger influence of moral and individual causes than is supposed, it ought to receive some attention. Such a measure we propose to outline.

By such an institution as a Labor Bureau, of the type to be defended, we mean an organization whose function should be to obtain and impart information regarding the opportunities for work of whatever kind and wherever attainable. It should be a department of Charity Organization on a large scale, as it is at present merely a local division of such agencies. Every large center of population should have such an institution, and there might be a general office, or a number of general offices for certain territorial districts, with branches extending into every locality whose labor conditions needed to be known. Rural as well as urban centers could be the subject of inquiry in regard to the demand for labor, its kind, wages, conditions, whether temporary or permanent, and every item of interest in determining the possibility of supplying work to those who need it. A registry of all these

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facts should be kept including the demand for labor and the supply of laborers, and the various bureaus could serve as a sort of clearing house for those exchanges.

Now to give an illustration of its practical working let us take a case. A man applies for charity. Something must be done. The first thing is to investigate and to determine his deserts, and this can be done in the usual way by charity agencies. If undeserving, the man may be refused help or turned over to the police. But if he is deserving he must be helped in some way, and we are left to choose between giving him alms, and giving him work. If we have a labor bureau he can be referred to this for information in regard to employment. The duty of charity is to offer work when it can; and when it cannot, humanity inevitably prompts to measures which, however they exalt man's moral feelings, are sure to produce as much or more evil than they were meant to cure. Hence the importance of supplying labor, if possible. If then this be accessible, as I believe it could be under properly organized efforts to find it, the applicant for relief can be offered it and the duty of charity is performed. If the man refuses this offer the responsibility for his condition henceforth rests upon his own shoulders. This is, after all, the policy of the wood-yard test so generally accepted, and there is in it the only right principle of charity until its resources are exhausted, when ordinary benevolence may be admitted as a last resort. It will serve both as a test of merit and as a means of dispensing the only kind of relief to which no objection can be made. This ought to commend the plan to consideration.

There is, however, an important difficulty in the scheme which ought not to be concealed or evaded. It is the fact that we should often meet with applicants for relief, who would refuse the offer, not on the ground of dislike to work, but because they feared the loss of an opportunity to return to an old trade or position when conditions improved; not to say anything of the frequent disqualification for the kind of work which could be offered. For instance a carpenter, a plumber, or a tailor might find nothing but farm work offered him, and this both less remunerative than his accustomed employment and involving a separation from his family. A

salesman might find nothing but work on the streets, and so on throughout the various avocations.

There is a brief and effective reply to this objection, which must be recorded. In the first place the fact presents no difficulty to those temporary workhouse schemes which are often established to meet such emergencies as the past winter has presented. Laborers who are ready to adjust themselves to the circumstances accept this makeshift and abandon it as soon as improved economic conditions offer other and better opportunities. The same principle would hold true in the work of a labor bureau. In the second place, the bureau could keep a complete registry of the trades and the conditions of supply and demand in them, and secure to each person accepting its offer of at least temporary work the right to the first consideration, in order, for places suitable to his tastes and abilities. A carpenter, for instance, who accepts street work could have the right to the first notification of a demand for his services in his old place, or in any other opening coming within the ken of the bureau's inquiries; and so on with all the trades. The policy, however, should have to be applied with great discretion, and perhaps with some limitations. At first, no doubt, it would meet with much failure and disappointment. But if thoroughly organized, and if the whole community could be made to use the bureau as its clearing house, these defects would disappear. Certain it is, that some concessions would have to be made to the natural tastes and abilities of the applicant in order to diminish the excusable temptations to refuse such offers of employment as could be made. There is no shirking the fact that the kind of labor desired cannot always be had for the asking, so that it may be the duty of the laborer to accept what he can get, though his resistance to the abandonment of opportunities to obtain work in his own trade are quite pardonable, and should be weakened or made unnecessary by providing a way of return.

The first important fact that commends the plan here suggested is the large number of poor who need work rather than gratuitous relief, as reported by various charity organizations. This number is so large, compared with those who deserve other charity, that it at once suggests the propriety of organ-

ized effort to find work, if for no other purpose than for economizing the resources of benevolence. During the years 1891 and 1892 the Charity Organization Society of New York City reported that 46 per cent. of all applicants for relief needed work rather than other form of help. For 1889 the number was 45 per cent., the figures for 1890 not being given. For the same years in the city of Boston the proportion of this class was only 23 per cent. In Indianapolis for the last *twelve* years it has averaged 22 per cent. The Report of the Charities Conference in 1887 shows that for 25 cities in the United States the average percentage for all of them was 40 per cent. who needed work rather than charity. This is a very large ratio and if employment could be secured it is apparent even to him who runs that the moral benefit to the individual, not to say anything of the saving to charity, would be incalculable. All who are interested in the subject of charity know how important it is to give assistance in the right form, and they are always telling us that the ideal end to be attained is the abolition of outdoor relief and of all services to the able-bodied except work. Forty per cent. of those who apply for relief is a ratio large enough to induce the most strenuous efforts to secure the only form of aid that every intelligent man now recognizes as legitimate, especially when we are conscious of the fact that most of this labor is wanted somewhere, if only we had an organized means of finding where it is wanted.

An objection to the utility of the plan will occur right at this point, and it is that this 40 per cent. represents the inefficient and incompetents in the struggle for existence, and that they could not retain positions if once secured. There is no use to offer employment to those who cannot do remunerative work, and as this 40 per cent. is presumably the residue which represents failure in life, a labor bureau would be so much waste energy.

There is an effectual reply to this objection while admitting that it contains a grain of truth. There is no refutation of it if the whole 40 per cent. represents incompetency. But as a matter of fact this supposition is wholly unverified, and is likely to be conjured up by the book student of the problem. All persons who have had any practical connection with

charity work know that very many of the class under consideration are wholly competent and are largely the victims either of economic accident, or of that imprudence which does not look far enough ahead in the struggle of life to secure the sufferers against misadventure. But they are able and willing to work. It is, therefore, a misfortune to be forced to adopt with them a method of relief that tends to demoralize them and hundreds of others who see how easy it is to obtain aid. It is true that we should find a portion, perhaps a large portion, of the 40 per cent. that would represent incompetents. But this cannot be determined off hand; and even here the merits of such an institution as I am proposing might be shown. It could be an effective means of sifting out the competent from the incompetent and deserving, and then we could apply a distinct method of relief to the latter class, while consoling ourselves with the employment of right methods for the former class. It is true that some, perhaps many, of those for whom the bureau would secure work would be frequently returning for a repetition of its aid. But at the same time many would not, and I confess that one of the objects which I should distinctly propose in the system would be this very sifting of the out-of-works. If it accomplished nothing more I should deem it a success. But there would in all cases be found a sufficiently large number of efficient laborers who could be benefited by it, to justify its adoption on the ground of economy alone, not to say anything of the moral advantages to both the individual and the community.

But I should not urge the system merely upon the merits of the object just mentioned. There is another which is better and more important. Nor would I advocate it solely on the condition that it be successful in supplying all or a large portion of the 40 per cent. with employment. I willingly concede that offers of work would often be refused, and that in many cases the kind of work wanted could not be secured. But it is not as a certain means of securing desirable employment that I propose the plan, though this is a main object where it can be realized. The primary object in view is to extend the principle of the *work test*, which is the most important medium of charity and of discriminating the worthy from the unworthy. It also throws much light upon the causes of pov-

erty which a sentimental public does not see. This work test is applied in the present wood-yard system of charity organizations in large cities. It is a test of the sincerity and good faith of the applicant and so of his right to assistance, if it does nothing more. Where the applicant is worthy and accepts, the system is also help by work rather than alms. It is applied largely to the vagrant class who uniformly attribute their condition to want of work. But it is interesting to know that from 50 to 75 and in some cases 90 per cent. of those referred to the wood-yard, with a ticket that admits them to it, never turn up there. They disappear to continue a life of mendicancy. Could charity societies not use this wood-yard test, they would be obliged either to help the applicant or to coldly refuse, with the presumption on the part of the public and that of the poor man, that no attempt had been made to offer him work which he sought. The wood-yard is therefore an admirable escape from this dilemma and shifts the responsibility for the continuance of destitution to the place where it belongs. But the wood-yard test cannot supply all the wants of labor. The vagrant class to which it is mostly applied does not constitute more than 7 per cent. of the applicants in New York City and this is not more than one-third of those represented by the 40 per cent. mentioned. Besides the reputation of the wood-yard is such that certain persons cannot well be referred to it without endangering their self-respect. But I do not attach much weight to this difficulty. There is a more important one in the fact that it cannot, from the relatively small consumption of kindling wood, supply labor to all who need it, and hence the general market for labor should be sought. This, with the need of extending the work-test system is a sufficient justification of a labor bureau to make its organization advisable, even if the labor offered were not accepted. As already stated, the obligations of charity are fulfilled when it has made an offer of employment. After that the responsibility rests with the applicant.

The importance of thus enlarging the opportunities and facilities for the application of the labor test ought to be apparent at once. It probably is apparent to every careful student of poverty, but is not comprehended by the majority



of those whose sympathies are invoked for relief. This importance lies wholly in the two functions to be fulfilled by the system. First, the desire to offer the only rational form of relief, and second, the desire to determine the real causes of a condition which can be cured only by self-reliance and honesty. The function of the bureau as a labor test will bring out the second of these features. It will effectively determine those who are sincere in their demand for respectable work, and in a way less liable to objection than the wood-yard and the workhouse which are often connected with the associations of the almshouse. Those who venture to try the system here proposed will be surprised to find how many will refuse its services, and this not because they are neither able nor willing to work, but because they want work to their liking. The vagrant refuses the offer of the wood-yard because he does not want work of any kind. But many who are willing to do a certain kind of work have a prejudice against any other form of it, and require to be subjected to the severest pressure of the struggle for existence to make them adjustable to circumstances at all. This moral inertia and inadjustability is one of the worst defects of those with whom charity has to deal. It is probably the natural consequence of our highly complex civilization with its economic conditions and highly developed division of labor. This division of labor compels a man to devote his life to some particular form of activity, and habit makes a machine of him. He has no adaptability simply because he is condemned to a single kind of effort, and accustoms himself to get his satisfaction and contentment in that way. But adjustability to environment is the first duty of every man as the condition of survival, and if he will not practice it voluntarily, or in obedience to changes of economic influences, the only recourse open to us in dealing with him is to increase the severity of the pressure upon him until he does yield to this demand upon him. The labor test exerts this pressure, and will show whether the man has those qualities which entitle him to survival, and to the sympathy of society, or whether his moral inertia puts him beyond the pale of redemption by ordinary means. To supply this influence, adequate to meet the situation, I know of no other method than a well organized effort to command all the available opportunities



for labor to be used in such emergencies as poverty creates. While I should be content if the system did nothing more than apply the labor test to shift responsibility from society to the individual, there is every reason to believe that it would be very successful in supplying work to a much larger number of those wanting it. It might thus prove doubly useful and successful. It would first eliminate the inadjustables, and it would then furnish labor, adjust population, and save resources. That it would do so, I think can be made out by what is actually being done by some of the charity organization societies in the large cities. In fact, we can show that the plan here proposed is already applied on a small scale, and that the conception defended in these pages is only an expansion of an existing system over a larger than a local territory. The New York Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor has a department of its agency which endeavors to furnish work to as many applicants as it can from the ascertainable supply. In 1892 it assisted 38,227 persons, or 8,589 families, in various ways. Those in want of work rather than relief or social sympathy and encouragement were 1,726 families, or about 7,500 persons. Of these the Society obtained *permanent* employment for 149, or about 2 per cent. For 1,006, or 13½ per cent., it obtained *temporary* employment. This is 15½ per cent. of all who needed work and represents a very interesting achievement when we consider that the society is not specially a bureau for such a purpose, and has only attempted this work in recent years. The New York Charity Organization Society has a similar labor bureau, if we may call it such. In its Report for 1891 of the *new* applicants for relief it analyzes the condition of 4,310 cases or persons. Nearly 2,000, or 46 per cent. of these represented those who needed work rather than relief. Of this number the Society obtained what the Report says ought to be permanent work for 314 persons, or nearly 16 per cent., and temporary work 1,309 times, which if it represented persons would make 65 per cent. But I am informed that it only represents the *times* work was secured for a much smaller number of persons, perhaps 30 per cent. If so we may consider 46 per cent. of this class as aided by the means here recommended, a ratio large enough to excite much interest in the system. Farther

if we consider that the persons receiving work were heads of families, as was the case in most instances, the number affected by this form of benevolence would be *three* times as great counting, as the Report does, three persons to the family. In 1892 the percentages were not so high. Permanent employment was secured for only 191 persons, or 5 per cent., and temporary employment 1,117 times. But this a most promising beginning, and if only a larger area with the needed work in rural communities were taken into account the system would be still more effective.

In Buffalo, New York, the figures are quite instructive, though no distinction is made in the Report regarding the kind of employment given. The labor offered was what is called artificial work, or such in some cases as was provided for the purpose without any special demand for it. Street cleaning was one form of it. On this account the system was modified in 1888. But the following table represents the results for the years 1883 and 1886 inclusive. It states only the percentage of all applicants who were relieved by artificial employment.

TABLE OF CASES ASSISTED BY EMPLOYMENT.

Years.	No. of Cases.	No. Aided by Work.	Per Cent.
1883	5,779	3,799	66
1884	3,886	2,187	56
1885	4,179	1,650	39
1886	4,400	2,414	55
Total.	18,244	10,050	55

Fifty-five per cent. is a very considerable number to receive assistance in this way, and though the form of employment was not desirable it explains two things: *first*, the very large percentage that are willing to accept work when offered it, and *second*, the efficiency of the plan. But on account of the questionable character of artificial work the Society abandoned this form of relief and established a Labor Bureau in 1886, which seems to have been limited to women. This in-

stitution has been continued down to the present time, and the following table presents the results:

CLASSIFICATION.	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893*
No. of women registered .....	198	219	229	210	222	245	250	99
No. of cards for work issued .....	1470	1370	1637	1543	1861	2111	2554	569
No. of cards presented .....	1440	1212	1380	1427	1742	1913	2081	538
No. of cards not presented .....	30	158	257	116	119	193	473	31
Day's work provided .....	2974	1297	1372	1412	1774	1995	2138	549
Places reported permanent .....	1139	301	405	443	372	427	355	99
Places reported temporary .....	301	911	975	984	1370	1486	1726	439
Work reported satisfactory .....	1405	1186	1366	1418	1716	1842	1999	510
Work reported unsatisfactory .....	35	26	14	9	26	71	82	28
Amount of earnings reported .....	\$2244	\$1335	\$1435	\$1498	\$1885	\$1933	\$2320	\$452

\*NOTE.—The statistics for 1893 represent only the period from May to October. Nothing is said in the report to indicate why this is the fact.

There are several very interesting features in this table which will strike every observer with surprise. The first is the extraordinary number of tickets presented and the small number not presented, showing how few were unworthy among those who registered. The second is the number of places reported permanent,\* as well as the large number of temporary places. The third is the large proportion of cases

\*NOTE.—A statement in the Report for 1886 implies that the Bureau is designed mainly for mothers who need employment to aid in the support of the family. This fact may explain the large number of permanent places compared with the number of women registered. If one woman, for instance, does the laundry work of five or six families the discrepancy will be accounted for very easily.

The amount of earnings seems small, but a note appended to the Report for 1887 explains this and gives it added value. Says the Report: "We calculate the average earnings of a situation reported to be permanent to be \$18 per annum. The amount cannot be given exactly, because we keep no track of the employment after the first report. This would make the earnings at the permanent situations amount to \$5,418.00, which added to the amount reported (for 1887) gives a grand total of \$6,753.00." If this principle be carried throughout the table we shall find a very considerable earning represented by the system, and a proportional amount saved to the community.

that are satisfactory and the very small number of cases whose work is reported as unsatisfactory, showing the small percentage of incompetency involved. Nothing could better indicate the value of such a system upon a large scale.

The United Hebrew Charities of New York City also have an employment bureau as one department of their work, but for any one who wishes it, and the results are quite as remarkable as in Buffalo. The most interesting feature of it is the fact that the employers' applications for laborers are always greater than those of the laborer, except in 1892 and 1893, rather confirming our claims as to the benefits of such a bureau. The following table gives the results since the establishment of the bureau:

Year.	No. of Employers' Applications.	No. of Applications for Employment.	EMPLOYED.				Percentage given Employment.
			In the City.	Out of the City.	Placed in Trades.	Total.	
1885	.....	231	.....	.....	.....	208	90
1886	.....	3036	1591	.....	181	1872	62
1887	3851	3384	2145	365	301	2811	83
1888	2816	3082	2102	229	284	2615	85
1889	3471	3078	1982	355	194	2531	82
1890	4740	4500	2855	585	393	3833	85
1891	5614	4650	2343	1061	705	4109	88
1892	5867	7192	3596	1303	402	5319	74
1893	5063	7433	3645	261	546	4452	60
Total.	31422	36587	20359	4159	3006	27750	76

The Brooklyn Bureau of Charities carries out a similar policy by having a Labor Bureau, but for both sexes, as one department of its work, but unfortunately its Reports give no statistical account of the results. The secretary, however, Mr. Buzelle, before his death, told me personally that it was a very useful and very successful part of the Society's work. He said that where the applicant was both honest and efficient there was no difficulty in securing him work.

All these facts indicate that a labor bureau may do much more than serve merely as a labor-test. If rightly organized and conducted it may dispense much of the needed charity for

the poor in the only form that can promise a remedy for poverty. Objections to it must apply equally to what charity societies find is an important part of their work.

The economic argument for the system is also an effective one. It is apparent on general principles, and more particularly from the earnings tabulated by the Reports of the Buffalo Society, that the saving to benevolence from a well-conducted labor bureau would be enormous. If the whole 40 per cent. of the poor needing work rather than relief could be supplied with it, that ratio of the societies' resources could be saved. For instance, take the \$15,000 which was distributed in relief by the New York Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor in 1892, and assume that 40 per cent. of it might have been saved by a good labor bureau, this sum would amount to \$6,000. During this Society's existence down to 1891 the sum of \$1,000,000 was granted in relief, without deduction of expenses. Expenses are usually about one-half, so that 40 per cent. of the remainder would represent a saving of \$200,000 for that period of time.

Such an institution would, of course, cost something, but its expenses would be paid out of the savings from relief and no additional burden would be imposed upon the community. This I think can be made clear by looking at the general cost of relief. The above figures are only those of a single society, but if we were to add up the amounts expended by all such organizations in metropolitan centers we should find ample resources for the object proposed. For instance, there are 360 societies, besides churches and benevolent families, in New York City occupied in some way with relief of the poor. The sums thus spent are enormous. The Secretary of the Charity Organization Society estimates that something over \$9,000,000 is annually spent in ordinary years upon the poor in this city. This amount is distributed among the various agencies in the following account:

Charities and Corrections (City) .....	\$ 2,250,000
360 Societies.....	4,500,000
590 Churches.....	500,000
5,000 Benevolent Families.....	2,000,000
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	\$ 9,250,000

Any one may well be amazed at this enormous sum given

away in charity and without any motive or effort to obtain a productive return. If any small portion of it could be saved by a labor bureau, it would probably be sufficient to pay its costs. But in estimating this we may eliminate the cost of charities and correction by the city, as probably not capable of being reduced by a labor bureau, because such paupers as are cared for by the city are mainly the infirm and incompetents, or the indolent who do not want work of any kind, and would not avail themselves of bureau help. But it is different with the other items. Assuming that \$2,000,000 of the sums expended by the 360 societies are necessary expenses, not involved in relief, we should have left \$2,250,000 upon which to calculate the saving from a labor bureau. Also assuming that a portion of the 40 per cent. who need work rather than relief represents incompetents, say 20 per cent. of the whole, though this is probably too high, and is certainly so if we accept the evidence of Buffalo's experience, we should have 20 per cent. of the applicants who might be assisted by work rather than charity, and calculating their cost at the same rate we should find that one-fifth of all the money expended for relief by the 360 societies could be, or might be saved. This would amount to \$500,000 a year for New York City. To this we might add nearly all that is spent by the churches and benevolent families, because these sums represent mainly sentimental and unscientific charity. But to be liberal we may discount them by one-half, assuming that we are mistaken as to the character of all such benevolence, and we still have remaining the enormous sum of \$1,250,000 annually which might be saved by judicious and scientific methods. This would make in all \$1,750,000 which might go to the support of a labor bureau. During the stringency of the last winter, it is estimated that the sums expended in charity amounted to \$15,000,000, or over \$5,000,000 more than in ordinary years, and it is believed by those who have a right to judge of the matter that a very large portion of this extra sum could have been saved by more judicious methods. Suppose we place it at one-half; this will give us \$2,500,000.

Now the expense of a labor bureau in New York City ought not to be more than \$50,000 a year. The cost of the Charity Organization, Society with its ten district offices is from

\$40,000 to \$45,000 a year, and I see no reason for supposing that a labor bureau would cost much, if any, more than that Society. If so, we see how easily it might be supported and how much might be saved to the community. If it succeeded in saving only 5 per cent. of the funds spent in charity, as calculated above, it would have at its command \$250,000, which would be *five* times the estimated cost of such an institution, to say nothing of the possibility of saving 20 per cent. Taken in this light *at least* \$200,000 a year might be saved, over and above the expenses of such a bureau to New York City's benevolent resources alone, not to say anything of the possible saving of \$1,700,000 a year. This last sum, with the \$2,500,000 which might have been saved from the injudicious charity of last winter would found labor bureaus all over the United States, without the assistance of any other city, while, supposing the saving to be the same elsewhere, we should see how economical such an institution would be.

I need not dwell upon this aspect of the problem, as it will be apparent that the least saving imaginable would pay the expenses of such a bureau, so that there can be no excuse from the side of cost for not establishing it. There may be objections, but expense is not one of them.

A brief summary of the system may now be in order. *First*, it should be a department of charity organization in every city, and arranged to command rural as well as urban districts. *Second*, there should be complete intercommunication between all offices in the country. *Third*, a full registry should be kept of all demands for labor, its kind, conditions, wages, etc., and of all destitute laborers. *Fourth*, no one should be entitled to the services of the bureau except such as proved on examination to be out of work and in need of charity. *Fifth*, those who accept employment outside their regular trade should be granted the first opportunity to return to it when an opening occurred. *Sixth*, the bureau should be wholly a private enterprise, removed from the interference of politics and the state.

The plan does not propose to cure poverty in all its extent. At best it can but relieve a part of it in the most desirable way. The incompetents and the infirm would still have to be dealt with. But assuming that it does not remove all des-



titution from the face of the world, if it merely convinces the public of the true causes of poverty it will have accomplished enough to justify its organization. Had the system been in full operation during the recent financial depression when "Coxey's Army" tried to convince the public, already too credulous about the cause of the want of work, that its demands were sincere, we should have found very ready proof of the real status of things, and have seen that the demand for work, or the cheap money to produce it, was only a cloak to conceal very different motives. But as there has been no organized means of reporting the demand for labor, the public has been at the mercy of newspaper rumors, socialistic speculators and vague generalizations about the paucity of work. A properly conducted labor bureau, however, would have soon put an end to these illusions, or it would have supplied the wants of the destitute laborer, which would have been equally important.

JAMES H. HYSLOP.

## ARE THE ITALIANS A DANGEROUS CLASS?

ALTHOUGH the existence of dangerous classes in the United States is perhaps undisputed, opinions differ in regard to what elements of our population should be classed as dangerous. Much depends upon who is using the term. The unemployed and the idle rich hurl the epithet at each other. The A. P. A.'s and the Roman Catholics would hardly agree upon its application. In every case, however, the idea meant to be conveyed by "Dangerous Class" is doubtless the same, namely, a class hostile to our institutions or to the best interests of our civilization, and which is, or is sure to become, a disturbing element.

Of our immigrants the most refractory are undoubtedly the Italians. This fact with certain other characteristics makes them in the eyes of many the worst of all our immigrants. Their rapid increase within the last few years has called forth the most dismal forebodings from the American press, and the opinion has become current that individually and collectively they are a very dangerous people. And thus it is that the adjectives lazy, filthy, cruel, ferocious, bloodthirsty, and the like, are supposed to be particularly applicable to this class of immigrants. No epithet is too insulting to apply to the "Dago."\*

There is of course a certain justification for this opinion. Blood-curdling stories about the secret society known as the Mafia are circulated. The conspiracy a few years ago in New Orleans resulting in the assassination of the Chief of Police and the bloody retaliation of the Americans, has not been forgotten. Italian laborers occasionally engage in a strike, in which case their excitable disposition is likely to give them more notoriety than their number would seem to warrant. Frequent stabbing affrays among them have led many to think of the Italian and the stiletto as inseparable, a

\* This term was originally used in the South to designate a descendant of the Spaniards who settled there. It is probably a corruption of "Diego," a proper name very frequent among them.

thought considerably strengthened by the recent assassination of the French President.

Now it cannot be denied that the Mafia exists, that Italians do sometimes resort to violence, nor that some of them have very inadequate conceptions of law and order. But bad things may be said about some of the representatives of every nationality, and perhaps after all the Italians are not so bad as their reputation. We certainly ought not to judge them by their worst element; and this we are likely to do. When we read, as in the Associated Press dispatches from the scene of the recent mining troubles, of the "enraged and violent Italians," "big ferocious looking Italians," and find them generally designated as Anarchists, we are likely to conclude, unless we are very ignorant of the Italian character, that strict veracity has been sacrificed to the exigencies of newspaper reporting. One thing is certain, the American press gives more space to the vices of Italians than to their virtues. It may be a question with some whether they have any virtues. To such it will appear strange to find anything said in their favor, and especially, that any one thinks it worth while to ask, "Are they a dangerous class?"

It is perhaps appropriate to say here that, being an American, I have no interest in the Italian element of our population other than humanitarian. It is not my purpose therefore to present an *ex parte* argument to prove Italian immigration desirable, or that these immigrants are in no sense a dangerous element. I wish only to present a few statistics and the facts of my own observation, and then leave the reader to draw his own conclusions.

When we are told that during the decade 1880-90 Italian immigration increased 312 per cent., we are likely to conclude, especially if we look upon immigration from southern Europe as undesirable, that the number is becoming too large for rapid assimilation. A statement of per cent., however, may be misleading. All depends upon the basis of calculation. In the decade 1850-60 Austrian immigration increased 2549.15 per cent., and Chinese 4591.95 per cent., and yet the country was not over-run by these nationalities. With regard to the Italians, the fact is that in 1890 there were only 182,580 in the United States, less than half the number of Germans in

the city of Chicago. The following table will show the increase by decades since 1850:

## ITALIANS IN UNITED STATES.

1850.....	3,645	1880.....	44,230
1860.....	10,518	1890.....	182,580
1870.....	17,157		

Since 1880, as the table shows, the increase has been comparatively rapid. This is better shown by the following, from the U. S. Statistical Abstract for 1893, giving the yearly immigration from Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia, from 1880 to the present time:

1880.....	12,345	1887.....	47,622
1881.....	15,401	1888.....	51,558
1882.....	32,159	1889.....	25,307
1883.....	31,792	1890.....	52,003
1884.....	16,510	1891.....	76,055
1885.....	13,642	1892.....	62,137
1886.....	21,315	1893.....	72,916

Why this rapid increase? Undoubtedly the enterprise of bureaus of emigration, which are engaged in the philanthropic purpose of enriching themselves by violating our laws against the importation of contract labor, and the rivalry of steamship companies, which has greatly reduced the price of passage, have had something to do with it. And then, too, successful immigrants return to Italy and fire the imagination of the people by displays of their newly gained riches, and by stories of the ease with which they were acquired. But the increase is not entirely due to the discovery that the United States is a good place to come to. Italy is a splendid place for the poor man to leave. A few years ago Dr. Strong (*Our Country*, p. 48) wrote: "The Italians are worse fed than any other people in Europe save the Portuguese. The tax-collector takes 31 per cent. of the people's earnings. Many thousands of small proprietors have been evicted from the crown lands because unable to pay the taxes. The burden of taxation has become intolerable." This describes pretty well the condition to-day. The enormous sum necessary to maintain the large armies, and the consequent economic crisis which weighs so heavily upon all Europe, and especially upon Italy, induces the over-taxed peasantry to leave their native land. I have myself talked to immigrants who have rented

their farms in Italy without other compensation than the payment of taxes.

Taxation being one of the chief causes of immigration it should be expected that a great part of Italian immigration is from the rural districts. This is true. Perhaps nine-tenths are *contadini* or land laborers. Others are brick-masons, plasterers, white-washers, tailors, barbers, etc. There are also a few clerks and a few members of the liberal professions. Here is a summary of the classification of occupations of the arrivals during the year ending June 30th, 1892:

Professional.....	232
Skilled.....	4,948
Miscellaneous.....	32,957
Not stated.....	3
None.....	21,020
Total.....	59,160

Those described as miscellaneous, or as having no occupation, include the large class above referred to. It is a mistake to suppose that Italian immigrants are as a rule the "off-scourings" of their native land.

There is another prevalent misapprehension which should be corrected here. Inhabitants of southern Italy including Sicily, as compared with those of the north, have acquired a bad reputation. Sicily is the home of the Mafia. Now, it is commonly asserted that almost all our Italian population is from southern and insular Italy. How far this is from the truth will appear from the following table, showing the total emigration from the different parts of Italy for the year 1892:

		Permanent.	Temporary.	Total.	
Northern Italy.	{	Piedmont.....	13,154	20,709	33,863
		Liguria.....	3,987	264	4,251
		Lombardy.....	13,051	8,851	21,902
		Venetia.....	19,664	63,113	82,777
		Emilia.....	3,309	2,591	5,900
			53,165	95,528	148,693
Central Italy...	{	Tuscany.....	5,806	5,895	11,701
		Marches.....	719	117	836
		Umbria.....	15	1	16
		Latium.....	120	4	124
			6,660	6,017	12,677

	Permanent.	Temporary.	Total.
Southern Italy.	Abruzzo and Molise... 6,838	2,207	9,045
	Campania..... 20,531	1,728	22,259
	Apulia..... 1,209	466	1,675
	Basilicata..... 7,024	303	7,327
	Calabria ..... 9,733	280	10,013
	45,335	4,984	50,319
Insular Italy...	Sicily ..... 11,435	477	11,912
	Sardinia..... 47	19	66
	11,482	496	11,978
Grand Total.....	116,642	107,025	223,667
Total immigration from Northern and Central Italy.....			161,370
Total immigration from Southern and Insular Italy.....			62,297
Total permanent immigration from Northern and Central Italy.....			59,825
Total permanent immigration from Southern and Insular Italy.....			56,817
Total temporary immigration from Northern and Central Italy.....			101,545
Total temporary immigration from Southern and Insular Italy.....			5,480

The division of emigrants into permanent and temporary is made by the Italian government. Permanent emigrants are those who go away for an indefinite time without intending to return to their native land; temporary, those who go abroad in search of work, intending to return. Now the figures in the third column show that out of the entire number of emigrants 161,370, or 72.15 per cent. were from the northern and central provinces, while 62,297, or 27.84 per cent. were from the south and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia. Only 62,137 of these emigrants landed in the United States. If we could assume that these were distributed in the same ratio as the total immigration we should have only about 17,000 from Southern and Insular Italy as compared with 45,000 from the center and north. This might not be a fair comparison, however, since so large a portion of emigration from the north was temporary.\* But in both forms of emigration the north outranks the south. Popular opinion supposes Naples to furnish us a large and objectionable class. The total Neapolitan immigration however was only 3,236. This idea, then, that all our Italian immigrants are from southern Italy must be dismissed as a delusion.

Having now an idea of the number and character of our

\*Notice that the claims that the bulk of our Italian immigration is from southern Italy, and that Italians do not come here to stay, are not consistent.

Italian population, let us inquire how it is distributed. All are agreed that among the Italians there is a strong tendency to concentrate. And many suppose that the entire drift of Italian immigration has lodged in a few of our large cities. On the contrary, Italians are found in every state and territory of the Union. New York contains the largest number, Pennsylvania the next, and California with 15,495 is third. The following from the census of 1890 will give an idea of their distribution by states:

## DISTRIBUTION OF ITALIAN POPULATION IN 1890.

North Atlantic States.....	118,621
South Atlantic States.....	4,894
North Central States.....	21,837
South Central States.....	12,314
Western States.....	24,914
	<hr/>
	182,580

Turning our attention now to the distribution by cities, we find that in 1890 about fifteen cities had an Italian population of more than 1,200. New York City with 39,951 heads the list. But this is more than four times the number in any other city. In the 124 cities having a population of 25,000 or more there were 107,337, or 58.79 per cent. of the total Italian population. In our 50 largest cities there were 98,148 or 50.37 per cent. This is slightly less than the percentage in the same cities in 1880, which was 51.13. At that time the Italians constituted 1.16 per cent. of their total foreign population. In 1890 the latter percentage had risen to 2.85. These figures show that the tendency to congregate in cities, perhaps the most deplorable feature of Italian immigration, is not on the increase. From this time on for reasons that will appear later, one can safely predict that it will rapidly diminish.

So much for Italian immigration in general. Let us now turn our attention to the Italians themselves. And as they are everywhere pretty much alike, we may confine our observations to the Italians of Chicago.

The Italian element of Chicago is of recent and rapid growth. In 1870 the census report shows only 552 persons born in Italy. In 1880 the number had risen to 1,357, and ten years later to 9,921. Of course these figures based on nativities do not represent the real number present. Children of Italian parents



owing to their mode of life are Italians in every essential but birth. At present the Italian population is variously estimated from 25,000 to 50,000. A conservative estimate, I think, is 30,000. Here is material for the alarmist if he chooses to deal in percentages, for the percentage of increase since 1870 is 18,400. These 30,000 Italians are distributed in nuclei of various dimensions all over the city. At the presidential election in 1892 four wards registered more than 50 votes. These wards were the following:

Twenty-third.....	58
First.....	137
Seventeenth.....	208
Nineteenth.....	278

The nineteenth ward, which contains the largest Italian population, lies on the West Side, and is bounded by Van Buren street on the north, the Chicago River on the east, W. Twelfth street on the south, and on the west by Throop and Sibley streets. It contains an area of .822 square miles, and has 22.7 miles of streets. Its population, according to the school census of 1892, was 54,172. The subsequent increase may be safely estimated at 6,000, making the population of the ward at present about 60,000. This population is a most interesting conglomerate. The total vote cast in the presidential election of 1892 was 9,155. This analyzed, is as follows:

Irish.....1,035	German.....721	Russians....477	Canadians...438
Bohemians. 468	English.....285	Italian.....278	Austrian....187
Scotch..... 99	Swedes..... 39	Poles..... 38	French..... 35
Hollanders.. 35	Norwegians..18	Danes..... 14	All others.... 61

The ward is credited, also, with 56 Mongolians and a few Greeks and Armenians. The section in which the Italians dwell lies east of Halsted street, between that street and the river. It contains about one-third of the area of the ward, and perhaps about two-thirds of the population. There are, then, in this part of Chicago about 120,000 people to the square mile, a dense population for Chicago, but, of course, not to be compared with the most thickly settled parts of New York, where they have over 380,000 to the square mile.

I choose this Italian settlement, not simply because it is typical, but also, because it is the largest in Chicago, and contains chiefly Italians of the lowest class. By general consent

it has received the name "Little Italy." The line of densest concentration lies along Ewing street, running east and west. Here, on a summer evening, one may get an idea of the density of the population, for they are all out; men, women and children, crowding the doorsteps, the sidewalks, and even the streets. On observing the small, tumble-down houses, one asks, "Where in the world did they all come from?" The fastidious eye quickly observes the filth in the streets, the dirty aspect of both houses and people, and the general appearance of squalor on all sides. People with sensitive olfactory nerves are likely to find little pleasure in the spectacle. The sidewalks contain an orderly array of well-filled garbage boxes. In walking from Halsted street to the river, a distance of four blocks, I counted seventy-one boxes, capacious, and most of them well filled, all on the sidewalk. They are placed there by the city. Our Irish authorities seem to think anything is good enough for these "furriners." In spite of their thoughtful provision, much of the garbage remains to defile the streets and to send visitors away with the idea that nothing good can come out of "Little Italy." But after all, there are some elements of poetry in the scene. I doubt whether Goldsmith had anything better upon which to base his beautiful description of

"Sweet Auburn! Loveliest village of the plain."

One may see groups of men in full enjoyment of health and strength engaged in playful banter or intent upon the achievement of some feat of skill,—for the drinks, to be sure, but that would probably be overlooked by the poet. Mothers with unconcealed enjoyment are watching the frolics of children who in spite of their surroundings are having a happy time. Strong men, good looking girls, happy children, parental affection, friendship, love and courtship, are all in the picture along with the disagreeable features. There is plenty of color and, I was about to say music, but that would be too great a stretch of poetic license.

Before making a closer acquaintance with these people let us review briefly their chief characteristics. Their physical appearance is too well known to need elaborate description. In stature they are usually below the average. Wiry is the

term commonly used to describe the Italian physique, but those of the lower class are usually of stout build, dark hair, and swarthy complexion. But on Ewing street you may see now and then fair complexion and auburn hair. Somehow these unusual features never figure in stories of Italian violence. Perhaps they do not lend themselves to the purposes of the reporter. It is always a dark or swarthy "villain." We should never be horrified by an account concerning "a big, ferocious looking, red-headed Italian."

As to the women the older ones usually present a miserable appearance, but the girls with their dark eyes, white teeth and olive complexion are often decidedly pretty. All like a good deal of color in their dress, and are extravagantly fond of cheap jewelry. The little girls dress exactly like their elders, and consequently look like small pocket editions of their mothers.

With all their ignorance the Italians are very bright. They are shrewd, highly imaginative, voluble, and volatile, expansive and explosive. Over a trivial incident they grow excited, all talk at once, and bluster and gesticulate as if it were a matter of great moment. Morally much may be said in their favor. They are sober, industrious and economical. To strangers they are uniformly polite. Their experience with Americans has taught them to be suspicious, but their confidence once gained they are affable and hospitable. All Italians are proud and high-spirited, and, when ill-treated, are defiant and revengeful. Amongst the women there is very little of the coarser commercial forms of vice. Emphatically, Italians are not lazy and thriftless. I do not forget that they are dirty as well as economical, but I do not allow the dirt to hide their better qualities. On this subject I shall have more to say later on. All I am concerned with at present is to sketch the outline of a picture which we may now proceed to fill in. Let us begin with an account of their family life.

If we walk down Ewing street at a time when the inhabitants are within, and stop to knock at one of the greasy doors, we shall be greeted with an unanimous "Come in!" All Italians have learned to speak that much English. On entering we are likely to find half a dozen men at a table playing cards, a woman busy at some household industry, and three or

four children who take advantage of any unoccupied territory. If it happens to be wash-day, we are likely to find the clothes hung out on lines stretched from wall to wall, making it necessary for us to dodge about as we move toward the chairs offered us. After sitting down and looking about us we find we are in the main room, parlor, sitting-room, dining-room, wash-room and bed-room all in one. Usually there is an extra bed-room, sometimes two. Besides the table and chairs, there are two or three old trunks, a bed, a stove, a decrepit sofa and two or three pieces of carpet. On the walls we may see a few old prints, saints perhaps, or highly colored chromos used to advertise some brand of groceries. A railroad map or a flashy advertisement may also serve for ornamentation. While we have been making this mental inventory, the *padre* has disappeared, and he now returns with a pail of beer, a glass of which each of us is expected to drink. Our refusal is interpreted as an indication of a more highly developed gastronomical taste than this simple beverage is designed to satisfy. Will we have some wine? No? Whisky? No? Well, then, smoke a cigar. Our continued refusal convinces him that we have no desire to be sociable, and he becomes suspicious. If we desire the acquaintance of that family it is probable that we shall have to call again. I have had to refuse hospitalities three or four times before I could make a family understand that I meant to be friendly without taking the preliminary steps which they thought essential.

Who are all these people who constitute an Italian family? Besides the parents and children, and perhaps a daughter-in-law or son-in-law, there are almost sure to be a few boarders, kinsmen or friends whose wives are either not yet selected or have not been brought over from Italy. As a consequence, the rooms being small and few, human beings in the Italian quarter are packed somewhat closely together.

My observations do not lead me to the conclusion that the number in an Italian family is above the average. The same is not true of the average number of people to a dwelling. In Chicago in 1890 the average number to a dwelling was 8.26, and the average family 5.01. In a tenement house containing 48 families and 350 people, or about 7 to the family, I found the real average to be only about 4. In 83 families taken at

random, the average number of children was 2.84. From these figures, it is safe, I think, to say that the rapidity of increase among our Italian population has not a threatening aspect.

A somewhat closer study of the Italian family will repay us. "The family," says Mr. H. B. Adams, "oldest of institutions, perpetually reproduces the ethical history of man, and reconstructs the constitution of society." And continuing, he points out the fact that school and college, town and city, state and nation are after all but modified types of family institutions, and the true method of advancing sociology is to study this element of social life. Let us then inquire as to the relations of the personal elements of a typical Italian family, and the economic, social and educational factors that are visible.

In the first place, the Italian marries for love. No prudential consideration, not even a visible means of support, is a prerequisite to matrimonial alliance. His married life is, therefore, likely to begin with one small room and a banana, but there is pretty sure to be conjugal love and constancy. The infrequency of divorce among Italians is not due entirely to their religion. In the home the wife is treated with consideration and respect. She is expected to be a helpmeet, and there are no nice scruples about the kind of work she shall do. Usually she manufactures macaroni, sausage and other edibles, and spends her spare moments in doing patch-work. But often she is an outdoor laborer, picking rags, selling fruit, or accompanying her husband on his hand-organ excursions. All who are in the slightest degree acquainted with Italian life bear testimony to the virtue of Italian women. It is only a suggestion, of course, but of the 2,439 women reported to have been received in the New York Florence Crittenden Mission for the ten years ending April 19th, 1893, only three were Italian. To the honor of Italian women let it be said they fill neither our police stations nor our brothels. This is due not simply to the jealous guardianship of Italian husbands, but to the discipline of the home. Young girls are trained to habits of obedience, and are not allowed the unprotected freedom of American girls, which is to say the least a questionable good. As a sample of the wild statements made concerning Italians, take an article which recently appeared in

the *Chicago American* in which it is stated that in Italy 21 per cent. are born out of wedlock. The actual percentage as given in our consular reports for May, 1892, is 7.5.

Before passing from this subject I wish to dispel another illusion, and that is in regard to the age at which Italians marry. You will be told that the girls are married before they are 16, and that marriage at 13 and 14 is a common occurrence. The latest Italian census shows that more men marry between the ages of 24 and 26, and more women between 20 and 22 than at any other age. In the Italian quarter of Chicago about one hundred families taken at random showed only one woman married at 14 and but one man at 18. Girls until they are 18, and boys until they are 21, turn their earnings into the family till, and parents therefore discourage their marriage until they have reached their majority.

This leads me to speak of the economic phase of the Italian family. Every member is expected to earn something. The father is a laborer, rag-picker, fruit-vender, peddler. Whatever he is he works hard at his business. Boys sell papers and black boots. Girls manufacture various articles of use and beauty. It is very difficult to estimate the family income and expenses. No account is kept and I have so far found it impossible to have them do so. I thought that in one case I had succeeded, but found that various items had been omitted. There were a good many "little things," they said, which they didn't suppose I cared about. According to the best I could find out here is the way a family of my acquaintance, consisting of nine persons, four adults and five children, managed to make both ends meet in the month of January, 1894.

The family had three small rooms on the second floor of a tenement house. The father was ill with the bronchitis, his brother earned the money, and an old gentleman, the wife's father, was out of work. The two oldest children were in school. I doubt whether the account given me is absolutely correct. I remember now that one day when I was present they had tomatoes for dinner and they do not appear in the bill. It is probable too that there was a small expenditure for beer. Italians have a particularly strong prejudice against Chicago water.

## INCOME.

Earnings of one adult (peddler).....	\$ 19 12
Aid from County \$1.50 per week.....	6 00
Total.....	\$ 25 12

## EXPENSES.

Rent.....	8 00
Fuel.....	3 00
Doctor.....	1 00
Medicine.....	50
Groceries, etc.—	
Cabbage.....	\$ 60
Macaroni.....	1 60
Soup bones.....	45
Milk.....	60
Bread.....	3 40
Meat.....	1 00
Rice.....	20
Sugar.....	60
Coffee.....	60
Potatoes.....	1 00
Eggs.....	40
Lard.....	25
Kerosene.....	32
Fish.....	60
Beans.....	40
Cheese.....	60— 12 62
	\$25 12

As showing the variety of food I give also the grocery bill for one month of another family of two persons, a man and his wife :

Bread.....	\$ 52	Olives.....	\$ 10
Macaroni.....	1 03	Tobacco.....	09
Beans.....	25	Sugar.....	10
Fish.....	32	Eggs.....	09
Sausage.....	03	Soap.....	10
Kerosene.....	20	Sweet oil.....	10
Candle.....	05	Grapes.....	05
Nuts.....	10	Lamp chimney.....	06
Cake.....	01	Cheese.....	05
Pepper.....	10		
		Total.....	\$3 35

Here again I cannot be sure how much is not included in the bill. The absence of fruit, except grapes, is suspicious. Some will be surprised to find soap among the other items.

The inference likely to be drawn from these two illustrations is a true one. The standard of living in the average Italian family is very low. Many of them, especially those who know anything about the American standard, realize it and long for something better. But it is the exceptional Italian who has



ever seen from the inside an American home. One of the most surprising phenomena to be observed in the Italian quarter is the dense ignorance of everything American, except money getting. Coming from Italy with their tastes and habits fixed, they reproduce in the midst of our civilization the life to which they have been accustomed. By comparison we find that their food here is pretty much the same as in Italy. According to our Consular Report for May, 1892, the kind and amount of food consumed per week by a workman in Italy were as follows:

	Central Italy.	Northern Italy.	Southern Italy.
Meat.....	1.65 lbs.	5 oz.	11 oz.
Bread.....	10.38 lbs.	4.41 lbs.	13.88 lbs.
Macaroni.....	1.98 lbs.	4.41 lbs.	6.61 lbs.
Meal.....	3.09 lbs.	8.82 lbs.	
Cheese,....	9 oz.	5 oz.	
Rice.....	1.87 lbs.	1.1 lbs.	5 oz.
Salt beef or fish.....	9 oz.	5 oz.	2.21 lbs.
Vegetables.....	4.41 lbs.	4.41 lbs.	8.82 lbs.
Wine.....	4 to 5 qts.	1 qt.	

At first thought it may be surprising that the higher wages in this country do not lead the Italian workman to a higher plane of living. But higher wages are largely offset by increased expenses and by the uncertainty of employment. In Chicago the Italian laborer does not expect work for more than half the year. His yearly earnings are therefore likely to fall within \$150. In many cases it is as low as \$110. During the last winter getting employment was out of the question, consequently income in most families was measured by charity.

When I said income was dependent upon charity I did not mean municipal and other outside charity, for as long as they have anything to share Italians keep their relatives and friends. Sociability is one of their strong characteristics. Formal visiting among them is not frequent, but they are so well acquainted that they are accustomed to walk into each other's home whenever they please, even without the formality of knocking. Such close relationships, although fatal to privacy, necessarily give rise to friendship with its consequent claims. Hence in time of need an Italian family, as a rule, looks first to friends. Last winter it was not uncommon to find two or three families living together in order to save rent, and often the burden of support rested on one family alone. While these

social relations help to knit an Italian community into a compact body, they serve also to make the family a strong unit, and this is not of itself a pathological condition.

As might be expected the educational influence of the family is not what it should be. While parents desire to have their children learn, they are too ignorant to realize their own duty or to appreciate education beyond its money value. It is often said that they have no care for the education of their children. I must assert that I have not found it so. In the poorest hovels I have seen the father painfully trying to collect his meager and scattered knowledge in order to teach his child; and I have learned that the best way to get on favorable terms with an Italian family is to offer to teach the children. As I have said, children are usually trained to habits of obedience and politeness. That they are trained to pilfer and steal, as we are sometimes told, is a mistake. If they get this training at all it is upon the street.

For fear I may draw too favorable a picture I will say again that I am purposely showing the good traits in Italian life, for in order that the picture may be true these traits must be emphasized. If I were inclined to take exceptional cases I could present the Italians in a very unfavorable light. I have seen families in which the degradation was indescribable. I have seen parents who encouraged their children in vice, and Italian children who needed no encouragement. But these, I say, are exceptional cases and if dwelt upon would be misleading. It may be said that, granting all that is claimed for the Italian family, the Italians as a class are a dangerous element in our civilization. It may be so. Let us try to get at the truth.

It must be admitted that ignorance must be classed as a factor which goes to make up a dangerous class. And Italians are ignorant. But how ignorant? Since 1859 Italy has had a compulsory education law. Until 1877, however, it was a dead letter. According to the *Annuario Statistico Italiano* for 1892 illiteracy in Italy since 1861 was as follows:

Census.	All Ages.	18-20 Years of Age.
1861.....	78.06	71.45
1871.....	72.96	62.53
1881.....	67.26	54.30
1891.....	55 to 60 (estimated) 42.00	

This showing is bad enough, but it is much better than their condition is usually represented. I have before me an article in which it is said that 85 per cent. of the Italians are illiterate. Here in Chicago I am inclined to think that the percentage is about 60.

But ignorance is not the worst charge made against the Italians. They are popularly supposed to be responsible for a large share of our drunkenness, pauperism and crime. The facts about this matter will be to some a surprise. In 1888 the deaths from alcoholism in Italy in 1,000,000 of population were 14, Russia 20, Ireland 29, England 50, Belgium 51, Sweden 65. In southern Italy they are only 1 in 100,000.\* Here in Chicago one does not often see a drunken Italian. Beer is the favorite drink. It is usually bought by the pail and drunk at home. In prosperous times the average Italian will spend \$3 a month for this drink. As to criminality and pauperism the census of 1890 shows 82,329 prisoners in the United States. Of these only 38 had one or both parents Italian. Of the 73,045 paupers in our almshouses only 12 had one or both parents Italian. To show the condition here in Chicago I have constructed a table showing the standing of the principal nationalities in our penal and charitable institutions. I was unable to get the statistics from the various institutions for the same time, but the percentages are perhaps not greatly affected. It is impossible to get the number of arrests of each nationality. Owing to this fact the information in regard to criminality is not as full as one could wish. Criminals sent to the Bridewell are under 21 years of age. Although the Italians, as shown by table below, are exceeded by the Poles and Hollanders in the percentage of families relieved by the county, it must be admitted that they make a very bad showing. Two things however should be said in explanation: first, the actual Italian population is perhaps three times as great as the figures of the census upon which the computation is based; and second, the hard times of last winter, owing to the fact that so many Italians live just above the line of self-support, drove a great many to apply for aid. Of the 1,072 Italian families reported as receiving help, 727 or more than two-thirds applied during the months of Decem-

\*Consular Reports 1892.

ber, January, February and March. The figures here given are in each case taken from the official reports:

NATIONALITY.	Population in 1890.	No. of families receiving aid from county from Jan. 1, 1893 to April 30, 1894.	Per cent. of native population.	No. sent to county poor houses for year ending Feb. 1, 1893.	No. per 100 of native population.	No. adjudged insane February 1, to December 1, 1893.	No. of families aided by Relief and Aid Society for year ending Oct. 31, 1893.	No. sent to Bridewell in 1892.	Children in Chicago orphan asylum 1892.	No. in Washington home for inebriates in 1893.
Germans.....	384,968	10,521	2.7	398	1.02	152	857	614	71	96
Americans. ....	292,463	6,625	2.2	851	2.90	174	680	6,067	182	823
Irish.....	215,534	8,548	3.9	754	3.49	85	787	1,209	45	310
Bohemians .....	54,209	5,116	9.4	58	1.09	21	197	59	.....	5
Poles.....	52,756	10,394	19.7	47	.89	21	220	96	.....	11
Scandinavians	45,877	3,365	7.3	218	4.75	75	478	207	23	47
English.....	33,785	1,036	3.0	91	2.69	18	310	251	8	100
French.....	12,963	556	4.2	32	2.46	4	80	33	.....	6
Scotch.....	11,927	298	2.4	50	4.19	5	125	144	12	38
Hollanders.....	4,912	639	13.0	11	2.24	0	.....	12	.....	6
Italians.....	9,921	1,072	10.8	19	1.91	3	190	43	4	7

Passing over the figures referring to indoor relief, let us notice the ratios of criminality as shown by the Bridewell report. If it is true, as some assert, that Italian children are trained to steal, they are quite successful in escaping detection. The Scotch, for instance, with only 2,000 more population have in that institution more than three times as many criminals; the English, with less than two and one-half times the population, almost six times as many, while the Americans, with about thirty times the population, are responsible for 141 times as many. These figures are immensely significant.

I have already said that Italians are not lazy. Perhaps for this very reason they are a menace to our welfare, for they are more likely to appear as a factor in the labor problem. Their standard of living being low, they are willing to work for low wages. If engaged in business, as fruit selling, they can undersell their American competitors. In spite of this, however, little danger may be apprehended. For Italians finding themselves unable to compete for the higher forms of labor, engage in labor which others, owing to their ideas of self-respect, are likely to shun. They may become rag-pickers, street laborers, scavengers. This will be so as long as the Italians crowd into the cities. Many unthinking persons suppose that Italians choose these ignoble tasks. On the contrary, they are forced into them. The more intelligent

among them are deeply chagrined that they, sons of Italy, which gave to the world a Dante, a Michael Angelo and a Columbus, should be forced to gain their living in such a manner. A few years ago *L'Italia*, one of the two Italian newspapers of Chicago, appealed to the pride of its readers to induce them to let rag-picking and such disgraceful labor alone. A mass meeting was called and a committee of fourteen was appointed to see what could be done. At their own request an ordinance prohibiting such labor was drafted and passed. But the rag-pickers, unwilling to starve, banded together, and by threatening political vengeance, made the ordinance a dead letter. Not a desire for *such* work, but a desire for *work* impelled them to resist its enforcement. Few realize how difficult it is for an Italian to find work, and how they are imposed upon by unscrupulous rascals.

In spite of their disadvantages they manage to find some kind of work, and in ordinary years save money. They run no sweat shops, and under no circumstances do they reinforce our army of tramps. Whatever may be said, then, of the Italians with reference to the labor question, their energy, manifested in the first place by their presence among us, their industry and economy, are encouraging to those of us who hope to see them become a prosperous and desirable element in our country.

"But they are all Catholics," some will say, "and that shows plainly enough that they are a dangerous class." Granting for a moment that Catholicism is a menace to our institutions, it does not follow that on this account Italians are a bad lot, for in the first place they are not all Catholics, many of them belonging to the Evangelical church,\* and in the second place, most of them who are Catholics are only nominally so. Even in Italy the priests have lost much of their power. In this country we have nothing to fear from the Italians on account of religious fanaticism. There is more danger from religious indifference.

While I am unwilling to grant that we have anything to

\*In Chicago we have an Italian church of the Presbyterian faith. It is often said that in Italy 99 per cent. are Catholics. This was true in 1871. Since that time, however, the census schedules have omitted the question in regard to religion. Hence there are no reliable figures. See *Annuario Statistico Italiano*, 1892, p. 87, note.

fear from Italians as Catholics, I readily concede that they may prove dangerous as voters. Like other ignorant classes, they easily become the tool of demagogues and thus enlarge the baleful influence of the latter. They are not quick like the Irish to see the benefits of citizenship, and do not, therefore, hasten to become naturalized. But the zeal of party workers goes far to supply this deficiency, and their indifference to politics in general, makes the Italians supporters of the highest bidder. Here, I think, is where this element of our population presents itself in the most unfavorable light. Unless they can become interested citizens of our country they are sure to become a dangerous class. And because there is a possibility of their possessing political power without a feeling of responsibility, we owe them a duty. But before describing this duty, let us see what we are already doing for them and what they are doing for themselves.

What we in Chicago are doing for our Italian element is soon told, for it is next to nothing. The Hull House, situated on the edge of the Italian district, gathers in a few of the girls and teaches them how to sew. Beyond this there is no systematic effort to ameliorate their condition. To be sure, the city has licensed in their neighborhood 115 saloons to quench their thirst, and to supply their social demands, but some would question this method of amelioration. There is not a park, bath-house or church in the whole district. The only free bath-house in the city is in this ward, but not in the Italian district. It was opened in January, 1894. In the first three days after opening 1,244 availed themselves of the bath and many were turned away. The Italian quarter seems to be pretty much delivered over to the people who inhabit it and they are not doing much for themselves.

The most potent elevating factors at work among the Italians are the two Italian journals, *L'Italia* and *L'America*, both very respectable weeklies. The former has a circulation of 20,000, the latter 5,000. Of course they reach a much greater number. It is not unusual to see a cluster of Italians gathered to hear what *il editore del giornale* has to say. There are also in Chicago several Italian societies organized for mutual benefit. The wealthier class have a social club, but there is nothing of this kind in "Little Italy."

What I have mentioned are about all the visible efforts put forth to better the condition of Italians in Chicago. More may be in progress in other cities. Here the Italians are not doing a tithe of what they should be doing for themselves with our customs and institutions, and to learn our language. To protect themselves against the schemes of the contractor, the banker, the lottery, the hotel-keeper, and the saloon-keeper, they should form a society to assist Italian immigrants by information and advice; to protect them by moral influence, and if necessary by the laws, against ill-treatment, imposition and swindle, and to provide work for them and to give them necessary assistance in every possible way. The Germans have such societies all over the country. The one in Chicago, during the last year, found work for 2,577 persons, and aided 585 families, 1,653 children and 266 single persons. The Italians need such a society more than the Germans.

While there are many things the Italians can and ought to do for themselves, there is much that must and should come from without. Rightly or wrongly we have permitted them to come to this country. Let immigration be further restricted if you will, we still have them with us and it is our duty to help them to a higher plane of living. To do so we must give them, first, our sympathy. Most of our newspapers heap upon them the most bitter sarcasm, and a large part of population regards them as proper objects of contempt and ridicule. No wonder that Italians sometimes conclude they are in a hostile country and either avoid everything American or return to their native land. "Who would have anything to do with a filthy Italian?" So ask many who seem to misinterpret the passage of scripture which reads, "He that is filthy let him be filthy still." The Italian quarter is filthy because it is neglected by the City. Under our present sanitary system somebody is bound to be neglected, and as the Italians are easily imposed upon they suffer most neglect. Our sanitary officer speaking of our contract system says, "Competition for the work (cleaning the streets and alleys) is sharp, the result is low bids. To thoroughly perform the work is impossible; the contractor devotes his entire attention to working out a plan whereby he can shirk and make both ends meet, the citizen complains of the slovenly way in which the work is performed, and the lack



of regularity of service, the officer is accused of partiality in cleaning certain portions of a ward to the detriment of other portions, and finally he grows discouraged, and hopes for an improvement, an open fall and winter, or a cancellation of the contract."\* We should clean up the Italian quarter. The old wooden garbage boxes should be removed from the sidewalk and destroyed. Metal boxes should be used and kept in the yard or set in the fences. Unfortunately in some cases there is neither yard, fence nor alley. In such cases the duty of the city is plain. There should be free bath-houses, and Tee-to-tum clubs should divide the patronage of the saloons. Not to be utopian, however, I insist only on the things first mentioned, namely, sympathy and good sanitary service.

Next in order we should enforce compulsory education. This is earnestly demanded by the more intelligent Italians. When children are old enough to earn money Italian parents are strongly tempted to keep them out of school for that purpose. We owe it not simply to the Italians but to ourselves that every child be kept in school until it has acquired the rudiments of an education. Children left to grow up in ignorance, to become familiar with all the vice of the street, to have no idea of their political duties and responsibilities, these constitute the really dangerous class. Education, sympathy, personal influence, all these should be brought to bear upon elevating the standard of life among the Italians.

Just here is where the church could do a great deal. If the church members of Chicago who are anxious to have missionary work carried on would each select an Italian family and visit it occasionally, not to preach to it but to hold before it an example of a higher standard of life, the results would be immeasurable. Italian families as a rule are never visited by Americans. Now and then a zealous missionary calls and leaves a tract, but Italians need sympathy and a good example far more than tracts. It is a fact, I think, that our benevolent and religious societies pay little attention to Italians. This neglect leads one of their number † to write, "Had they (the Italians) displayed the vices or criminal inclinations which prevail to a deplorable extent among the low classes of other

\*Report of the Health Department, 1892, p. 26.

†A. E. Cerqua, quoted in "Dangerous Classes of New York," p. 197.

nationalities they would soon have been brought to public notice and taken care of by our benevolent and religious societies, but they cannot be reproached with intoxication, prostitution, quarreling, stealing, etc., and thus escaping the unenviable notoriety of the criminal they fall into a privacy that deprives them of American benevolence; and there is no instance of any visitor having ever been appointed to explore this fruitful field of operation." This ought not to be true, and would not be true if the Italians were not grossly misrepresented and misunderstood.

As long as Italians concentrate in "quarters," and do not exert themselves to form bonds of union with the outside world they will counteract most of the work that will be done for them by the church and by individuals. The tendency to concentrate, as has been said, is the worst feature of Italian immigration. This is recognized by friends and by the more intelligent of their own number. As soon as an Italian lands in America he hastens to the Italian quarter and there he is likely to stay. He finds men and women who speak his own language. He lodges with an Italian, eats at an Italian restaurant; stores kept by his countrymen supply all his wants. Bankers, employment agents, lawyers, interpreters, physicians, musicians, artisans, laborers, grocers, bakers, butchers, barbers, merchants, all are there, a town within a town. Hence the "Italian quarter" has great cohesive force. Now it seems plain that even if we cannot dissolve the nucleus that is already formed we should keep it from growing larger. There is but one way in which this can be done, and that is by colonization. The remedy for centralization is decentralization.

I have already said that about nine-tenths of the Italians who come to this country are small farmers and fruit raisers. Is it any wonder that when these men find themselves in the heart of a great city, with no work at hand to which they have been accustomed, they take up such work as rag-picking? As has been wittily said, "they have grown so accustomed in their own country to picking fruit that they think they must pick something, hence apply themselves to rags and garbage boxes. Bad as that business is, however, it is not so bad as picking pockets." If, now, Italians are successful farmers and fruit growers the place for them is not in the

city but in the country. But the question arises: "How can they be induced to go there?"

All that is necessary to induce Italians to go to the country is to let them know that they can do better there than in the city. And that is true. In the South especially, land adapted to fruit growing may be had for nothing. The climate there would suit the Italian better than that of our northern cities. The South would welcome them. Railroad companies would furnish cheap transportation. Therefore it would not be a difficult matter to direct the incoming tide of immigration to this part of our country. All that would be necessary would be a society such as that already mentioned as operated by the Germans. When an Italian lands he should be asked about his former occupation and what he now wishes to do. If he has been a farmer he ought to be directed to a place where he can continue that occupation.

There are, of course, objections to colonization. It would cost some trouble and perhaps a little philanthropy. It would be, however, only the ounce of prevention that would save a pound of cure; for to make a useful rural population of our Italian immigrants would be one step toward solving our municipal problems. It is urged, also, that Italians do not come to this country to stay, and therefore they would not settle on a farm. To this it may be replied that, although this used to be the case, it is now more generally true that they come expecting to remain. And if they could be assured of a profitable business, more would come to stay. It will be said too that the poverty of our immigrants would prevent them from engaging in farm work. But it is true, I believe, that on arriving in America Italians usually have a small sum of money. If they could reach a farm before falling into the hands of the various swindlers who make their living by taking advantage of the ignorance and inexperience of their victims, there would probably be capital enough to begin with.

One other objection from men who have given some thought to the question, may be noticed, and that is that Italians are not likely to succeed as farmers. In this country most farming is extensive, whereas Italians are accustomed to intensive farming. Without carrying on the work on a large scale, and after American methods, some doubt their success.

To this objection the answer is, *they have succeeded*. Colonization is already a fact. Seven or eight years ago a settlement of Italians was located near Daphne in Baldwin County, Alabama. It has thrived and prospered. Land has been cleared for cultivation, grape cuttings and fruit trees have been put out and various agricultural products have been raised. According to a recent observer the settlers are "intelligent, industrious, orderly and law-abiding, and they are so polite and cheery in their manners and demeanor that it is a pleasure to meet them. Their hope is soon to sit under their own vine and fig tree in a land truly flowing with milk and honey, and to make their lives bright with the light-hearted gaiety and peaceful content that made existence pleasant even amidst the exactions and privations of sunny, but over-taxed and over-crowded Italy. Already the sounds of music are borne on the evening air as these pioneers in a great movement of their race rest at the close of day from their labors, and rejoice over their freedom from heavy burdens, and in that feeling of independence that the ownership of land gives to foreigners of small or moderate means." Other instances of successful colonization could be mentioned.

Colonization is strongly advocated by intelligent Italians interested in the welfare of their countrymen. The editor of *L'America* has urged it in a series of strong and earnest articles in his Journal. *L'Italia*, is no less enthusiastic in its favor. It seems to be the natural solution of the problem of Italian concentration in the slums. Its reasonableness together with the successful attempts already made, and the quarter from which it is advocated insure the truth of the statement formerly made, that henceforth the tendency of Italians to congregate in large cities will decrease.

Of course colonization cannot do everything. It cannot relieve us of our personal obligations, nor our municipalities of their duties. We may regret the necessity for altruistic effort which embraces our so-called "pauper immigration," but in this case altruism is the most sensible form of egoism. Let us once do our duty toward our Italian immigrants and we shall hear much less about them as a "Dangerous Class."

I. W. HOWERTH.

## THE GREAT COAL STRIKE OF 1894.

ALTHOUGH the great coal strike of 1894 has been almost entirely obliterated from the memory of the public by the more serious labor troubles which followed it, it seems well, in the cause of justice and truth, to make a more thorough inquiry concerning it than the daily press of New York was able to do.

The points needing elucidation are:

The necessity of the strike ;

The manner in which it was conducted ;

What was gained by it ?

In regard to the first point, Prof. Bemis, of the University of Chicago, in an article in *The Outlook* of May 12th, at the very beginning of the strike, said :

\* \* \* If any strike has ever been justified, this one is. \* \* \*

According to computations of the writer, based on the census of 1890, as given in the bulletins, the average wages of the 24,323 miners in Illinois were only \$6.87 a week ; of the 19,591 Ohio miners, \$6.76 ; of the 53,780 bituminous miners of Pennsylvania, \$7.55, and of the 70,669 anthracite men, \$6.21. \* \* Since these figures were gathered wages *have been reduced* one-third, at least, in Ohio and Western Pennsylvania, on each ton of coal, and the number of days of work per week has been decreased one-half, so that despair is written on the countenances of thousands of our miners. \* \* \*

The miners had a long experience to convince them that a general strike was, at that time, the only means of restoring wages to a living standard, or indeed of preventing them from falling still lower. In 1885, Mr. John McBride, the present president of the United Mineworkers, was one of the "Executive Board" of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, which invited the mine owners of the United States to a conference, "for the purpose of adjusting the market and mining prices in such a way as to avoid strikes and lockouts; also to give to each party an increased profit from the sale of coal." In this conference the "Joint Conventions of Operators and Miners" had their origin. These conventions, meeting annually for five years, settled wages for the states represented, appointed a National Board of Arbitration

and Conciliation, and by these means prevented all dissensions between miners and mine owners over a large district, including the states of Ohio, Pennsylvania and Indiana.

In these conventions both Mr. P. H. Penna, the present vice president of the United Mineworkers, and Mr. Patrick McBryde, the secretary-treasurer, took a prominent part, and it is therefore not unfair to claim that the three principal officers of the National Mineworkers of America, were, for five years at least, consistent in advocating and in practicing peaceable methods of settling labor questions.

After the breaking up of the Interstate Conventions in 1891, State Conventions were still held by mine owners and miners in Ohio and Pennsylvania, and wages were fixed for these states, but the lowering of wages recorded by Prof. Bemis was proof that no partial agreements were of any real value. It was evidently only a question of time when the same reductions would be made all through the trade, resulting in a permanent lowering of wages. The miners know, as do all intelligent workingmen, that a permanent lowering of wages means not only much suffering, but actual moral deterioration, and they know, also, that their own action, either alone or in concert with the mine owners, is the only force which can prevent such reduction. At the time the strike was declared, some of the mine owners said they were willing to pay the wages asked, but could not unless their competitors were required to do the same and the only way to accomplish this was by means of a general strike.

As to its necessity, then, there seems no question. The miners had no other way to save themselves and their families from physical and moral degradation. They were powerless, otherwise, and the mine owners who desired to pay them higher wages were equally powerless, owing to what Prof. Bemis calls "cut-throat competition in the midst of weak labor organization." The second point to be considered is as to the manner of conducting the strike, and it is fair to give weight to the declarations and actions of the miners in previous years in judging their attitude during the troubles of this year.

Their initiation of the Interstate Conventions is proof of their desire to settle peaceably all questions arising between themselves and their employers, and their participation for

eight years in these and the State Conventions was a good practical test of their sincerity. Moreover, their official declarations are consistent with their actions. The Constitution of the United Mineworkers of America in its enumeration of the objects of the organization includes the following: "To use all honorable means to maintain peace between ourselves and employers; adjusting all differences, as far as possible, by arbitration and conciliation, that strikes may become unnecessary;" and at their First Annual Meeting, they passed the following resolution:

That we, the United Mineworkers of America, do, here in convention assembled, desire, for the purpose of stopping strikes and lock-outs, that our National Board shall cause to be introduced into every state and United States legislature, bills for the creation of courts of arbitration, whereat we can have at any time the disputes arising, settled.

Since, therefore, both by their declaration of principles and by their actions the miners have for years consistently supported peaceable methods of settling labor questions, we may believe that they desired their strike to be a "peaceable" one, and this is stated in the circular of June 12, 1894, in which the officers of the organization announce to the members the close of the strike and rehearse its history. They say:

\* \* At our annual convention in April, the representatives outlined and agreed to a policy by which miners were expected to govern themselves. This policy being one of peace and quietness showed very plainly the intent and purpose of delegates and officers alike. Following is the resolution adopted:

WHEREAS, We believe that the interests of our organization can best be subserved and the purposes we seek to accomplish through a general suspension of mining, more easily obtained, by a full and complete observance of law, the maintenance of peace, and protection of property;

*Resolved*, That we pledge ourselves and call upon our members to enforce the suspension of mining by peaceful and law-abiding methods, and should it be necessary at any time we promise to voluntarily assist in the work of protecting life and property wherever threatened.

Here is a plain declaration of our policy, providing, not only that we should refrain from violating law, but pledging an active energetic co-operation in the enforcement of law and order everywhere.

As long as the miners engaged in the suspension observed this policy of peace and order, there was no doubt of their ultimate triumph.

\* \* \* That violence has been committed, and law in other ways disregarded there is no doubt, but that our men have been so outrageously lawless as the press reports indicate we deny. Any violation of law, however small, supplemented by the maliciously exaggerated press



reports proved sufficient to change and turn against us a public opinion never too friendly toward the laboring men in conflict with corporate greed, but powerful for or against any movement sufficiently large to attract its attention. \* \* \* Your President recognizing these facts and being powerless to enforce discipline in our ranks, and believing that the danger line had been reached, and being unwilling to assume or bear the responsibility for acts over which he had no control, called a meeting of the National Executive Board and District Presidents, in accordance with instructions given at the last National Convention. \* \* \*

At this meeting, the circular goes on to say, the decision was reached, for the reasons given above, and others, to bring the strike to an end.

The point to which I desire to call attention in the quotation I have given is that the officers of the United Mine-workers not only warned their men that violence and lawlessness were contrary to the policy of the organization, but they gave proof of the sincerity of their words by ending the strike before its objects were fully attained, principally because of violence and lawlessness on the part of the miners. This seems to me to show that, so far as lay in the power of the leaders, the strike was conducted in a peaceable manner.

As to what has been gained by the strike—although the officers in their circular to the miners say: "We know that you are disappointed, and assure you that we share your disappointment," still the actual gain justifies the strike.

The statement of the officers of the United Mineworkers is:

\* \* \* While we have not been able to restore wages to what they were in the early part of 1893, we have, in many instances, prevented reductions from taking place, and in others secured part of what we lost. Reductions have been prevented in Southern Illinois, and in Iowa prices have been restored and the organization recognized. One-half the reduction pending on May 1st has been saved to the miners of Indiana, and a similar amount saved to the miners of Northern Illinois; in addition to this, the operators from the latter field have promised to abolish the infamous contract system which has caused so much dissatisfaction to the miners of that part of the country and so much injury to their competitors in other fields. In Ohio an increase of 10 cents per ton has been secured, and in Western Pennsylvania an advance of a similar amount. In addition to the price of mining, the inter-state agreement has been re-established, and once more peaceful methods of adjusting wages will take the place of strikes.

In electing check weighman miners will no longer be hampered by the interference of the operator, as under the agreement they will have

the privilege of electing a man of their own choice to fill that position, something not heretofore enjoyed by a large portion of their numbers. \* \* \*

In the above account of what has been gained, the most important thing is the re-establishment of the interstate agreement, which means that the mine owners and miners joint conventions will be resumed, and that wages for the coal miners of the whole country will again be settled by discussion and reason, and a calm consideration of the necessities, both of the miners and of the trade, as in the years from 1886 to 1891, and not by the undercutting of some mine owners, nor by strikes on the part of the miners.

To sum up: The coal strike was necessary to prevent a general and disastrous lowering of wages. The leaders intended and endeavored to conduct the strike peaceably, and brought it to an end when they found this no longer possible.

The real gain of the strike is, that so long as miners and mine owners keep faith, there will be no more strikes in the coal trade in the United States, which is worth many weeks of suffering on the part of the miners and of discomfort on the part of the rest of the people.

JOSEPHINE SHAW LOWELL.

## RECENT STUDIES IN SOCIOLOGY.\*

[Reprinted from *The Dial* of Sept. 16, by kind permission of the Editor.]

The table of contents of the "Introduction to the Study of Society," by Professors Small and Vincent, is, to a student of sociology, a most appetizing menu. Here we find discussed, in pure and strong English, the origin and scope of sociology, the natural history of society, social anatomy, physiology, pathology, and psychology. By Descriptive Sociology the authors mean "the organization of all the positive knowledge of man and of society furnished by the sciences and sub-sciences now designated or included under the titles Biology, Anthropology, Psychology, Ethnology, Demography, History, Political and Economic Science, and Ethics." By Statical Sociology is meant "a qualitative and approximate account of the society which ought to be. Social Statics is, in brief, social ethics." It is declared that a distinction should be made, in the interest of clearness of thought and of practical efficiency, between Statical and Dynamic Sociology. This last "proceeds to investigate means of employing all the available forces of society in the interest of the largest human welfare." The present volume does not attempt to go beyond Descriptive Sociology. It is a "laboratory guide" for sociological observation and investigation. It directs attention upon significant facts and to the essential relations of facts to each other. The reading of Book One will require the closest attention of trained students. In Book Two, "The Natural History of a Society," we have an account of the growth of a city from the time a single settler took his homestead on the prairie, through the stages of village and town and the transition stage, to the hour when a highly complex commercial centre comes into existence. Every statement is illustrated by concrete examples. The effort is made to hold attention to social reality, just as in a physical or biographical laboratory the teacher seeks to keep the student's eye fastened upon the mat-

\*AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SOCIETY. By A. W. Small and G. E. Vincent. New York: American Book Company.

A TRAVELER FROM ALTRURIA. By W. D. Howells. New York: Harper & Brothers.

SOCIAL EVOLUTION. By Benjamin Kidd. New York: Macmillan & Co.

THE AGED POOR IN ENGLAND AND WALES. By Charles Booth. New York: Macmillan & Co.

THE THEORY OF SOCIOLOGY. By Franklin H. Giddings. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science.

RANDOM ROAMINGS. By Augustus Jessopp. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

THE ENGLISH PEASANT. By Richard Heath. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

THE UNEMPLOYED. By Geoffrey Druge. New York: Macmillan & Co.

SOCIAL REFORM AND THE CHURCH. By John R. Commons. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co.

HANDBOOK OF SOCIOLOGICAL INFORMATION WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO NEW YORK CITY. By W. H. Tolman and W. I. Hull. New York: The City Vigilance League.

ter of investigation. In the later Books the authors return to exposition of social doctrine. Without slavish imitation of Schaffle, we have here the essential elements of his exposition for the first time in intelligible English; but there is original treatment with local illustrations. In this work we have the pioneer text-book for college classes and beginners in sociology. It does not claim to offer contributions to the science, and yet so clear an exposition of so complicated a subject may legitimately be regarded as an actual addition to the discussion. The chapter on the scope of sociology will provoke a debate which will promote the settlement of the vexed question of sociology in the circle of the sciences and in a course of study.

The romance of Mr. Howells, "A Traveler from Altruria," belongs in the same general category with Plato's "Republic," More's "Utopia," Campanella's "City of the Sun," and Bellamy's "Looking Backward." Every man creates for himself a picture of a future perfect society in his imagination, but once in many years some poetic mind embodies the vision in a description. No harm is done, so long as the dream is not seriously regarded as a working programme to be carried out in details. Fortunately these visions are contradictory, and one illusion corrects another. This prophetic spirit, hovering over those who toil along the dusty way of pain-bought progress, cheers the pilgrims and keeps up heart-courage for the journey and the strife. This seems to be the social function of those who write novels and romances. The humiliating contrast between our own ideals and conduct awakens the conscience and sets us upon immediate correction of obvious evils. Mr. Howells's Altrurian traveler leaves us angry at his rebukes, but reflecting on our deeds. Not in vain has he visited this green earth; not in cruelty and wrath has he rudely shocked our apathetic complacency.

In Mr. Benjamin Kidd's "Social Evolution" we have a work whose popular form, earnest spirit, and bristling paradox insure a wide reading. Buckle taught that the intellectual factor is dominant in social progress, and that morality is stationary. Draper represented that religion, as embodied in the Church, was the foe of advance. Marx and many other socialists look to materialistic and economic interests for their revolutionary forces. Here is a writer who regards the intellectual factor as a subordinate element, religion as the mainspring. But the teachers of religion must beware of the Greeks who bring such gifts, for religion is not "rational," it is distinctly "irrational." The doctrine is so startling that it must be stated in the author's own words (185-186:)

"The most essential conclusions to which we have been led \* \* \* are as follows: First, that the process of social development which has been taking place, and which is still in progress in our Western civilization, is not the product of the intellect, but that the motive force behind it has had its seat and origin in that fund of altruistic feeling with which our civilization has become equipped. Second, that this altruistic development, and the deepening and softening of character which has accompanied it, are the direct and peculiar product

of the religious system on which our civilization is founded. Third, that to science the significance of the resulting process of social evolution, in which all the people are being slowly brought into the rivalry of existence on equal conditions, consists in the single fact that this rivalry has tended to be thereby raised to the highest degree of efficiency as a cause of progress it has ever attained. The people affected by the process have been thereby worked up to a state of social efficiency which has given them preponderating advantages in the struggle for existence with other sections of the race. \* \* \* The intellect continues to be a most important factor in enabling the system to which the individual belongs to maintain its place in the rivalry of life; but it is no longer the prime factor."

These positions will not be read without strong protests. The author emphasizes the radical and inevitable conflict between social and individual interests. But the other side of social progress is slightly treated; the increase in numbers and satisfactions in society as it exists; the improved condition even of paupers and criminals; and the fact that all this advance is due to that social order which gives security to the weak. It is not altogether "irrational" for the strong and rich to serve the commonwealth, since in its prosperity alone they are prosperous. And as for the weakest members of society, they owe existence itself to this progress. Other questions naturally arise. Will society continue to obey an "irrational" impulse? If the sanction of an order cannot be found in human life itself, whence can it originate? Is it a wise use of language to call that alone "rational" conduct which secures the immediate individual satisfaction? Was the death of Socrates "irrational"? Was the heroism of those who fell at Gettysburg insane? Can there be a permanent conflict between reason and conscience, intellect and altruism? Many such problems and paradoxes will present themselves to the reader of this interesting and suggestive book.

Mr. Charles Booth gives the world another monumental study of the depressed classes, in a work entitled "The Aged Poor in England and Wales." The object of this book is "to make more possible and profitable a study of the 648 separate lessons in administration which the conduct of the Poor Law Union of England and Wales affords." We have here something more than a careful and complete description of facts. The method of collecting the material is very instructive. The casual relations between the facts of dependence in old age and the domestic, economic, educational and ecclesiastical conditions are distinctly brought out. The various results of the diverse methods of administration are disclosed and tabulated. The book is more than a political study, more than an economic study; it is a social study. The entire social system, so far as it bears on the problem of the aged poor, is analyzed, and its working explained by reference to fundamental and universal social forces. It is a truly sociological method, fruitful and comprehensive. Mr. Booth is a business man who has the outlook of the man of science. He gives means and time to the pursuit of social inquiries. We stand in need of such men in this country. If our National Conference of Charities and Corrections could secure the

services of such a man, its lame and imperfect inquiries into the facts of out-door relief could in a few years be set forward to satisfactory condition. A few illustrations of results may be set down. Taking a census of a single day in 1892:

"While only 5 per cent. of the population are paupers, taking all ages together, and not half of that proportion taking the active years of life alone, the rate is about 10 per cent. between 60 and 65, 20 per cent. between 65 and 70, 30 per cent. between 70 and 75, and not much less than 40 per cent. over 75."

These figures would be confirmed by the similar inquiry of Dr. Victor Bohmert in seventy-seven German cities. To see the full force of such statistics we must separate the "working-classes" from others, and then we find that amongst these and small traders "the rate of pauperism for all over 65 is not less than 40 to 45 per cent." That means that nearly half the working people of England must look forward to public support if they reach old age. It is such facts as these which demand some better method of providing for the last years of life than any hitherto discovered.

Professor Giddings, whose transfer to the chair of Sociology in Columbia College marks distinct progress in the new study, gives us, in his work on "The Theory of Sociology," a brief sketch of "the theoretical positions that will be more fully described and defended in a work on the Principles of Sociology, which is now well advanced towards completion." This treatise, which embodies the substance of previous publications, discusses the sociological idea, the promise, problems, and methods of sociology. It is of exceeding interest to all students who are seeking to define the field of sociological investigation.

In "Random Roamings," by the Rev. Augustus Jessopp, we have the leisurely description of a cultivated Anglican clergyman who finds time to investigate the archæology, history, and contemporary conditions of rural England. The aristocratic clergyman's point of view is by no means concealed in the chapters on "A Scheme for Clergy Pensions," and "Something About Village Almshouses." He feels like patronizing the poor, and is not sanguine about free schools.

"The English Peasant," by Mr. Richard Heath, is a book of a different kind, written by a man with the descriptive powers of an artist and the sympathies of a modern layman, deeply religious but not sectarian. The author has traveled on foot over much of England, and delivers the testimony of an eye-witness. He can appreciate the value of free schools, of agricultural trades-unions, of voluntary efforts of church and chapel, of kindly patronage of rich squires, and of the narrow and fanatical, but morally earnest, denominational preachers.

The able Secretary of the English Labor Commission gives the public, in a volume of 277 pages a complete survey of contemporary schemes, British and Continental, for caring for the unemployed. The services of trades-unions, labor bureaus, newspapers, labor colonies, municipal agencies, and many associations are here described and their

relative values weighed. The book should be read by those who will this winter have to face the problem of want in our cities.

Professor John R. Commons has collected several papers on the relation of the church to social reforms into a neat volume, which he entitles "Social Reform and the Church." He urges that the mighty emotional forces of religion should be utilized for the amelioration of human life on this planet. Pauperism, politics, temperance movements, municipal monopolies, and proportional representation are discussed from this standpoint.

The "Handbook of Sociological Information" prepared by the City Vigilance League of New York will furnish a convenient list of books and articles, and accounts of typical beneficent institutions in the metropolis. In preparing the bibliography, the editors have sought the assistance of specialists in many lines of investigation and experience. It is not intended to be a complete bibliography, but a selected list for immediate use of busy social leaders.

The works here noticed are typical of the various methods by which the study of society is to be advanced. We need the broad study of fundamental principles revealed in historical investigation, the minute study of contemporary facts in a limited field, and even the inspiring ideals of romance. It is important to determine the limits of each special social science, and the theory of the relation of science to art. It is also essential to progress that all the conscious and unconscious experiments of society be investigated and their results revealed. This investigation may yield a fragmentary product and yet be conducted by a scientific method. It is sometimes objected to sociology that its ability to direct social action falls far short of completeness. But this is true of each special social science, even of those whose simple character made an earlier development possible. Sociological literature shows the effort to consider all the facts of all classes, an attempt at co-ordination of all factors in thought and in practical action. Most of the works here examined are "sociological" only so far as they supply fragments of raw material for scientific treatment.

C. R. HENDERSON.



CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY OF THE CITY OF  
NEW YORK.

The past four months have not been marked by any emergency. The pressure of demands upon the Society caused by the industrial depression of the previous winter, and the expectations excited among chronic dependents, by the liberal provision made on all sides to meet that depression, continued in an unusual degree until September, when the first marked relaxation occurred and applications fell to their normal number. As will be seen by reference to the summary of our statistics on another page, the requests for information from our members and co-operating societies increased over last summer more than 150 per cent., and nearly double the number of reports were sent out. Our District and Central Bureaus treated 72 per cent. more than in the same time last year, while the visits paid by our agents showed a corresponding increase, and the office consultations an enlargement quite material but less marked. It will be noted that all this large increase of work has been performed with largely reduced contributions, a condition which it is perplexing to face. The plan for some time in contemplation by which all investigations, except in the extreme northern and southern districts are made by the Investigating Bureau at the Central office, has been put into full and apparently successful trial during the summer and still prevails.

In regard to the number of street beggars dealt with by the Society it should be stated that but one officer was retained on duty by the Society during the summer, for financial reasons, but the number of those arrested, being nearly double that of the previous year, indicates plainly the large increase of this class of dependents upon our city streets.

At our night office the evening applications fell off from a daily average of 14 in May to 9 in June, 5 in July, 7 in August, 8 in September and 10 in October. This office is kept open uninterruptedly, including Sundays and holidays until midnight, and is still under the care of this Society and of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. Of the total number of applicants at the night office for the past six months, 49 per cent. were, by their own statements, recent arrivals in the city, attracted here by hope of employment or of means to live without work.

Our Wayfarers' Lodge shows a large gain. It has maintained itself without loss during the summer, contrary to the expectations of the committee in charge, the members of which had expected to meet a probable deficit. Our work for unskilled and homeless women has less favorable results and is not as encouraging. Our Penny Provident Fund marches steadily on to larger gains, and is preparing to plant itself during the coming season in many of the public schools, under the permission kindly granted last spring by the Board of Education,

and by virtue of an encouraging beginning already made. The Provident Loan Society, the latest offspring of the Charity Organization Society, has outstripped the expectations of its managers, having in the first five months of its existence loaned \$164,000 to 10,748 borrowers, being an average of \$15.25 to each. Of these 2,291 have repaid their loans to the amount of \$47,200, and withdrawn their pledges. The borrowers are of quite a different order from those who frequent the ordinary pawn shop. It is rare that any evidences are apparent of parties wishing to make loans for improper or unwise purposes.

During the summer a quietus was given to the operations of the New York Juvenile Guardian Society by an order of the Supreme Court vacating its franchises, upon complaint of the Attorney General, based on information elicited at the recent investigation of the charges made against it by this Society.

The usual attention has been given during the summer to Fresh Air charities. The playground in Fiftieth street, supervised by the Society and maintained at the sole expense of one of its friends, has done excellent service. The Bartholdi Creche on Randall's Island has opened its usual benefits to mothers with debilitated children who could not participate in the all-day excursions of other charities, and provision was made for a class of children heretofore debarred from such benefits to share in excursions provided by the Tribune Fresh Air Fund.

The Society has been represented at the annual convention of County Superintendents of the Poor of this state, at which also representatives of the Children's Aid Society and the State Charities Aid Association took part. At this conference some progress was made in improved sentiments in favor of the abolition of public out-door relief and of better methods of caring for dependent children of the state.

A Conference of Charities of the City of New York has been formed by the joint invitation of the Charity Organization Society and the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, and includes representatives of the Department of Public Charities and Correction, Children's Aid Society, United Hebrew Charities, Society of St. Vincent de Paul, German Society, New York City Mission Society, and other leading organizations. This conference has thus far dealt with the subject of the proper treatment of homeless non-residents during the coming winter, and has adopted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this meeting that the overcrowding of this city of New York with homeless men calls for the sternest measures of repression. The burden of caring for the resident unemployed is sufficiently great to tax the resources of the charitable. United action of all charitable agencies, both public and private, should be secured, not only to discourage but to prevent so far as possible the drifting of idle men to the metropolis.

It has also received encouragement from the Mayor, Police Commissioners, and the Department of Public Charities and Correction that station house lodgers shall be, each morning, committed to the care of the Department of Charities and Correction.

#### ORANGE BUREAU OF ASSOCIATED CHARITIES.

The statistics of the summer's work of the Society show a large increase over previous years, the maximum being reached in August. The extremely dry weather deprived many men of the odd work of cutting grass, caring for lawns, gardens, etc., which is usually so plentiful in the Oranges at that time of the year. Many more women were at the work-room and men at the wood-yard because of the then still persisting effects of the industrial depression. The Society enters upon its winter's work with the prospect of being relieved somewhat of the burden of the hatters, the hat industry seeming to have recuperated, but with the necessity of caring for many unemployed laborers and other wage-earners who are still unable to find work.

A public meeting under the auspices of the Society has been held, inaugurating the winter's work, at which E. M. Colie, Esq., Vice-President of the Society, and Hon. Seth Low, of New York, spoke. The meeting was announced as not only to awaken interest but to educate to better methods. Among other points emphasized at the meeting, were these: The Oranges contain a population of over 40,000; of these nearly 9,000 are wage-earners, 3,000 men and 1,000 women being employed in the hat shops. Begging is prevalent in the Oranges, the proportion of beggars to the population being greater than in the larger cities. Charitable effort is needed in such a community, and adequately organized. Such organization need not imply a lessening of charitable effort, but rather the furnishing of an intelligent basis for a larger expenditure. To give alms takes little time, to give oneself means more effort, more responsibility. The co-operation of the public is needed for the proper efficiency of such a society. Give nothing to beggars at the door or on the street. Give personal service to the Society and the poor. Cease to give carelessly to twenty families, give care and intelligent help to two.

The meeting was remarkable for the high character of the audience and the evident interest and earnestness.

Along the line of prevention the Society is pushing the Penny Provident Fund to be succeeded later, if deemed advisable, by a larger saving scheme.

A circular warning against certain cases of persistent begging has been issued.

A Training Conference for Friendly Visitors has been arranged by the General Secretary to occur monthly at the central office.

The community seems awakening to the need of more intelligence in philanthropic work.

[*Note.*—The example of the Orange Society is commended to other Charity Organization Societies. A hundred subscriptions for the CHARITIES REVIEW have been forwarded to us through the President, Mr. Van Wagener. The Editors of the REVIEW are endeavoring to make it of especial aid to those who are engaged in charitable work.—ED.]

#### NOTES.

New Charity Organization Societies have been created at Anderson, Ind.; New Britain, Conn.; San Bernardino, San Jose and Stockton, Cal.; Salt Lake City, Utah, and Woonsocket, R. I.

In Mr. Carroll D. Wright's recent statistics of wages and cost of living he makes the interesting comparison that an average English family spends annually on amusements and vacations, \$23.55 and an American family similarly situated but \$14.48.

We note the death of R. A. Valpy, for many years prominent in charity organization work in the West of England and London. A rule to which Mr. Valpy firmly held, was to discover the latent good in those with whom he came in contact, and direct it into its natural channel, there to flow on and join the broad stream which sets its current toward a higher and deeper humanity.

Vacation schools were, for the first time, opened in New York during the past summer, on the plan successfully carried on in Boston for a few years past. These schools are for the benefit of children who are unable to have fresh air trips, and are obliged to pass the hot summer days upon the sidewalks or in the alleys of the slums. They are very popular with the children. The exercises have a sufficient variety to bring a sense of relaxation to the children, and are made attractive to them by different kinds of manual training. The relief also to over-worked mothers is very great.

A Summer College Settlement, upon a religious basis, has been carried on in New York during the past summer in connection with one of the down-town churches. This Settlement was composed of 27 residents, of whom 15 were students representing eight separate colleges and seminaries, including two Theological seminaries, Colgate, Rochester, Yale, Harvard and Illinois State Universities, and a Medical College. Among other subjects taken up by them was that of the benefits of associated effort, on the plans of Charity Organization, in the solution of the many problems of charity.

The Central Labor and Relief Bureau, of Chicago, commences its new year with the above change of name from The Central Relief Association, and with the following officers: S. E. Gross, President and Director, and Charles M. Fage, Vice-President and Secretary, successors to T. W. Harvey and C. H. Mixer respectively. Their plan for the following year is to divide their work under three departments: Registry, Transportation and District Organizations. It is the belief of the Directors that in this way only can they work toward a solution of economic charity in a city like Chicago. The Registry Division is practically an Intelligence Bureau, where the charitably inclined may obtain full information as to the claim any person or family may have

on charity; how much, if any, aid has been given before, etc. The Transportation Division acts as above stated but confines itself to sending or bringing needy ones at the lowest rates to or from places. The District División is a headquarters for District societies, imparting necessary information or aid to such associations. "To shape charity along positive lines and to avail wasted energy," is their policy.

*Lend a Hand*, for October, contains an interesting article by C. S. Bremner, on the "Hadleigh Farm Colony," founded in 1891 by General Booth, for the purpose of applying the work test to the reformation of man's moral defects. Though unable as yet, from lack of funds, to give the widest scope to their policy, nevertheless some solid benefits have resulted, it being understood that from the very extent of the plan, the work is necessarily in an embryo state. Accommodating some 260 men, besides 100 permanent officials, they distribute them through their saw-mills, wheelwrights' shops, blacksmiths' shops, brick works and over their farm of 2,800 acres, on which a great variety of fruits and vegetables are produced, all obtaining a good price in London and other markets for their excellence. They are induced to save two-thirds of their earnings, which, after their average stay at the colony of seven months, they find useful to them in entering again upon the world. The results, so far, seem to be encouraging, more than 50 per cent. turning out well. It is a question, as Mr. Bremner intimates, whether the enormous sum annually expended by England in its poor law relief is productive of an equal good.

We direct especial attention to the initial article in *The Journal of Political Economy*, press of the University of Chicago, written by Prof. von Holst and entitled, "Are We Awakened?"

The paper, a discussion of the recent strike in Chicago and elsewhere, is a powerful and masterly arraignment of the position taken by the American Railway Union men and a stirring cry of warning to the American people. There is, with him, no uncertain opinion as to the gravity of the situation and the danger at our door. "*At present nothing less than the preservation of society is at issue.*" "*Whoever says society says law.*" The author does not commit himself as to the right or wrong involved in the inception of strikes in general; it is rather the demoralizing effects of this recent strike that he condemns in unqualified language as being a menace to all that the true American holds dear; he does not believe it possible that this country can ever successfully solve the social problem for it "is co-existent with society," but we can press forward toward the ultimate good, trusting that future conditions and future centuries will render a solution possible if not probable. Our duty is, first and foremost, to perfectly comprehend the nature of the malady.

[*Note*.—Many notes have been received from C. O. Societies which will appear in the December number. The REVIEW will resume next month the publication of "Gifts and Bequests."—ED.]

## Charity Organization Society Summary.

	JUNE 1 to OCT. 1, 1894.	JUNE 1 to OCT. 1, 1893.
<b>Financial.</b>		
Current receipts from contributions.....	\$ 1,885 00	\$ 2,930 40
Current expenses.....	13,562 51	13,586 44
New members.....	14	21
<b>Registration Bureau.</b>		
Requests for information.....	1,612	639
Reports sent out.....	2,286	1,167
<b>District Work. *</b>		
New cases, through the district offices.....	2,801	1,556
New cases, through the central bureau.....	2,737	1,650
Visits by agents.....	9,753	5,667
Consultation at offices.....		1,348
<b>Street Beggars.</b>		
Total number dealt with.....	206	173
Of whom were warned.....	81	104
Of whom were arrested and committed.....	125	69
<b>Wayfarers' Lodge and Wood Yard, (516 West 28th street.)</b>		
Days' work given.....	2,326	1,232
Loads of wood sold.....	905	349
<b>Park Avenue Laundry, (589 Park Avenue.)</b>		
Women employed.....	104	146
Days' work given.....	1,042	1,542
Receipts for work done.....	\$2,102 25	\$2,088 84
<b>Penny Provident Fund, (101 East 22d street.)</b>		
Stamp stations.....	271	222
Depositors (about).....	40,000	30,000
Deposits.....	\$23,311 85	\$17,466 72
<b>Workrooms for Unskilled Women (49 Prospect Place.)</b>		
Days' work given out.....	1,194	(Not open a
Permanent employment found for.....	12	year ago.)
<b>Night office.</b>		
Total applicants.....	874	(Not open a
Total aided.....	413	year ago.)

\*Much preliminary and emergent work heretofore done from the District offices has, since July 1st, 1894, been done from the Central Application and Investigation Bureaus, and hence the change in the above table.